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THE CONDUCT

Of a certain

MEMBER of PARLIAMENT,

DURING THE

Laſt SESSION;

AND THE

MOTIVES on which he acted;

EXPLAIN'D.

IN A

LETTER to a FRIEND.

DUBLIN:

Printed in the Year MDCCLV.

BRITISH

CONDUCT, &c.

Dear Sir,

YOUR Inquiries in Relation to Mr. —— I am now better qualify'd to anſwer than when I writ my laſt; and it gives me much Pleaſure that I can do it in a Manner agreeable to your Wiſhes. I have been at his Houſe theſe ten Days, from whence I now write, and where I could for ever ſtay, but for my neceſſary Avocations, with a Man who wanted but this late happy Change of Sentiment, to make him one of the moſt amiable Characters I have ever met with.

An Information on this Subject was, you know, the principal Purpoſe of my Viſit, and I was fortunate enough not to be kept long in Suſpence. I can't ſay I was ſurprized, tho' infinitely pleaſed, at the Event, being no other than what I expected, from my Knowledge of his good Underſtanding and excellent Principles. I will give you, as near as I can recollect, the Particulars of our Converſation.

The Morning after my Arrival we took a Walk thro' his Improvements, which are very fine, and the genuine Reſult of that noble Simplicity of Taſte which diſtinguiſhes their Proprietor. Paſſing thro' a Row of ſtately Elms, I took notice how prodigiouſly they had grown ſince I remember'd his planting them, and from thence naturally digreſſed into ſome Obſervations on the Pleaſures of rural Improvements. Yes, ſays he, they are, in my Opinion, as uncommon in their Quality, as endleſs in their Variety; they are, what can be ſaid of no other Kind of Gratification, except the Practice of Virtue, great yet unmixed, continual yet not cloying, and the Increaſe of every Year not only brings with it a new Set of preſent Beauties, but alſo warms the Imagination into Proſpects the moſt delightful that the Soul of Man can taſte.

When I obſerve the ſtripling Plant ſwelling into Subſtance, and ſhooting up to Grandeur, my Eye acknowledges the Beauty of the Sight, and my Recollection draws the pleaſing Compariſon between its weakly Infancy, and its preſent confirmed State of Health and Maturity; but, when

from thence my Imagination darts into Futurity, and paints to me the Benefits that may accrue to thoſe who engroſs my Cares, (perhaps, at that Inſtant, playing at my Knees) I own I feel a Joy not eaſy to be deſcribed; a Joy, to which Senſuality is taſteleſs, and Ambition moſt contemptible.

THERE, ſaid I, another Idea ſeems to intervene, which lays the Foundation of theſe delightful Views. — True, ſays he, the greateſt and nobleſt we can contemplate; LIBERTY, or SECURITY OF POSSESSION; the only Source of human Happineſs, the Baſis of Independency, and the Protector of Affluence; a Theme which, in theſe my ſolitary Reveries, ſoon hurries me from the inanimate Scenes that gave Riſe to them, into Contemplations, where the Mind is immediately loſt in Amazement and Gratitude; Amazement, that, among the ample Circle of GOD's Creatures, this firſt great Gift and Birth-right of human Kind ſhould be almoſt utterly extinct; and Gratitude, to the DIVINE HAND which has preſerved it, through the Storms and Revolutions of Ages, to that ſingularly-happy Conſtitution under which it is

my

my Pride and my Happineſs to have been born.

I KNOW, ſays he, obſerving me to ſmile, what juſt now occurs to you; you are thinking how many People would wonder to hear an Encomium on Liberty, from one who ſo lately gave his Suffrage againſt its Intereſts in this Kingdom. They would, indeed, have Reaſon, and I aſk no Credit for my Sincerity, till I produce my Conduct; I have, it is true, long ſince made private Atonement in my own Breaſt, but that I cannot plead, in Extenuation of my Share of the public Reſentment. I love them for their Spirit, and honour their generous Perſeverance in it; the true *Britiſh* Genius never ſhone in genuine Dignity thro' this Iſle before; and I aſſure you it often threw a Beam of Joy on my very uneaſy Reflections, that the Honour of my COUNTRY was never at ſuch an Height, and that its Figure muſt be improved in the Eyes of Poſterity.

IT has, indeed, been ever a Tenet with me, that Inadvertency in great Matters is not only puniſhed in its natural Conſequences, but really deſerves to be ſo, as amounting to a Crime. By my own Maxim,

im, on this Occaſion, I was condemned; and I accordingly bore my private Remorſe, and my Share of the public Odium, as a providential and juſt Puniſhment on my Indiſcretion. I had a large Fortune to intereſt me, and a Competency of Years and Judgment to aſſiſt me, in tracing the Nature and Tendency of the Meaſures on Foot. — But the Truth was, I was ſo lulled by preſent Tranquillity, as to become unwary of Danger, and the Deſigns of inſidious Stateſmen; domeſtic Happineſs duped me into Inattention to public Calamity.

Here, ſaid he, taking out a Pamphlet, is that which firſt undeceived my Judgment; it was this which gave Strength to Reproach, and added Stings to the public Reſentment; every Hour told me the Public was incenſed, but this convinced me they were juſtly ſo, while with irreſiſtible Argument, and all the Force of Truth, their Protectors ſtood abſolved from the malicious Calumny of their Enemies; here, as in a Mirror, I ſaw myſelf precipitantly lending my Hand to overſet the Baſis of Property and Freedom. What my Shame and Concern were on ſuch a Reflection,

Reflection, you, who know me, may imagine; they were really for a Time exceſſive, nor could any Thing relieve them but the Proſpect of making a Recompence; and my Impatience is now as great as my Concern was before.

It may look extravagant and romantic, but I affirm to you that my uſual Recreations grew taſteleſs, and Retirement but increaſed my Anxiety; nay, I have, at Times, looked upon theſe Improvements, the Conſequence of cheriſhed Liberty, as ſo many Monitors of the Shame of their Poſſeſſor. All my former pleaſing Hopes became tinctured with Melancholy, and Fancy pictured out the Deſolation, which from the Scheme, in one Article of which I had aſſiſted, muſt have neceſſarily enſued.

Inattention to public Tranſactions, and the Characters and Conduct of the Perſons I ſtood engaged with, were, as I have ſaid, the principal Source of my Error; when I thought at all on theſe Subjects it was but ſuperficially, and chiefly as I was taught to think. — A Leſſon to every young Man who is intruſted as a Guardian of his Country! Unread in Prece-

dents

dents and parliamentary Hiſtory I thought with the Bulk of the World; I looked on the public Money granted in Perpetuity to the Crown for public Uſe, and called the *hereditary Revenue* (as the King's private Property) uncontroulably at his own Diſpoſal: The Redundancy in the Treaſury, I imagined, was chiefly of this; and that it was, conſequently, *ungrateful* and *unaffectionate* not to acknowlege his *Goodneſs* and *Generoſity* in ſuffering it to be applied to a Diſcharge of the public Debt.

Then, ſaid I, you ſeem not diſcouraged from a Change of Conduct, either by the Aukwardneſs of receding, or the Apprehenſion of joining with the *loſing Side*, one or other of which, I am convinced, is a Reſtraint on many who are in the ſame Situation. —— As to the firſt, ſays he, I can hardly think it can be an Objection with any, at leaſt, if it is, I have conſidered the Thing in a very wrong Light: On the contrary, I have been pleaſing myſelf with the Reflection that we, who have erred on this Occaſion, are moſt peculiarly fortunate in that reſpect. I hardly know another Circumſtance but this, where to change one's Courſe is not only juſtifi-

able, but glorious: Whoever changes here, can change upon no *poſſible* Motive but *Principle*; *that* every one muſt ſee, and that every one will acknowlege. What makes changing in general aukward and diſagreeable is, that the malicious Part of Mankind will be induſtrious to aſſign ſome ſiniſter Motive for it, be the real one ever ſo juſt and commendable; hence Men are led rather to continue in an Error, than riſk their Reputation by renouncing it. He muſt be, indeed, a bad Man, who, for ſuch a Reaſon, would perſevere in an Error, apparently, as this is, deſtructive to the Community: But *Badneſs*, or *Folly*, or any other Epithet, falls ſhort of the Character of him, who, with his Eyes open, can ſo perſevere, when both *Conſcience* and *Reputation* urge him to the Change; *Conſcience* impelling him from within, and *Reputation* inviting him from abroad, and offered by thouſands, who ſtand with open Arms and fervent Hearts to receive him.

THIS, continued he, appears to me ſo obvious, that, I believe, you muſt miſtake, when you think that any are reſtrained by the Apprehenſions you ſpeak of. There can be no Aukwardneſs in quitting Iniquity for

for Virtue, when thoſe, whoſe Cenſure alone can be feared, are unanimous in favour of the latter; much more painful is it to adhere to it amidſt the Reproaches, the Reſentment, and Contumely of an injured People. And what Imputation can a ſpirited Acknowlegement of a former Error bring on the Principles, or the Underſtanding, of any? On the firſt it is the higheſt Encomium, and the ſtrongeſt Proof of the Soundneſs of the latter: Not to have ſeen immediately the bad Bottom of artful Meaſures is by no means the leaſt Derogation from good Senſe; they were very cunningly laid: On the Face of them, from a ſuperficial Glance, Prerogative may ſeem to be concerned, and every good Subject to be called upon in its Defence; to others it may appear to be a *proper*, tho' not a *neceſſary*, Compliment, and to a third Set, quite inſignificant and immaterial, farther than as it was to determine the Ballance of Power: The Queſtion was in itſelf quite new and ſtrange, though, in Fact, aſcertained through a Courſe of Years, and interwoven in the very Texture of our Conſtitution; but who, in this Generation, remembers an Attack on the

eſſential Privileges of the People, or who could dream of it at an Æra like this? No Wonder then that Diſuſe ſhould render us inexpert in detecting, and ſlow in ſuſpecting, an Attempt of this Nature. In a Syſtem well ſettled as ours, one would think little of any Neceſſity of going back into Records for the Evidences of our being a FREE PEOPLE; few were much verſed in Reading of that Kind, and fewer could be brought to ſuſpect that the Debate in Hand could receive any Illuſtration, much leſs a clear Deciſion, from it.

BUT, to ſay the Truth, were the Caſe quite contrary, were I to ſuffer much Imputation of every Kind for retracting my firſt Plan, I have Motives ſtrong enough to make me reſolute in perſevering: Abſtracted from my Duty to the Public, and the perpetual Welfare of this poor Iſland, I have ſo valuable a Fortune at Stake, that I would beg to be excuſed from becoming the Tool of an Under-Miniſter's Dominion, and the arbitrary Sway of his Creatures and Deputies at Home. Miſled as I have been, I have not yet been cajoled out of my Reliſh for the Sweets and Value of conſtitutional Independency; and I wiſh every Gentleman,

Gentleman, in my Situation, would reflect, for a few Minutes, on the mighty Importance he will be of, when the Schemes of our new Maſters ſhall have taken Effect, all Competition at an End, their Power eſtabliſhed, and the Inſtruments of the Work laid aſide, without Uſe or Employment, without Honour from the Public, or Eſteem from their Seducers, unfit for any good Purpoſe, and unneceſſary for any bad one; crouching to the Lords of all for the unmoleſted Enjoyment of his precarious Property, and bound in Vaſſalage to the moſt diſtant Favourite of a Favourite; not even exempted by his Services from his Share of the general Contribution which inſatiable *Avarice* would demand, and the Pomp of inſatiable *Ambition* would neceſſarily require; to be a Witneſs to univerſal Deſolation, ſave round the Palaces of a Few, and to the enormous Acquiſitions of an overgrown Monopolizer, ſtretching his Arms on every Side to cruſh each little Independency, and encreaſe the Tributaries to his Sway; nothing in Proſpect but the Grandeur of a Baſhaw, and the abject Penury of eaſtern Slaves; the national Intereſts utterly, irretrievably, given up, the

Laws

Laws perverted in their every Channel, and the Legiſlature extinct by being merged in that of the *Britiſh*; or, which is infinitely worſe, entruſted to Men, picked by and devoted to the Meaſures of their Maſters, adding new Weight to our Burthens, as the Occaſions or Caprice of any Miniſter may require.

I SAY, I wiſh every Man of Property would conſider Things in this View, and not deceive himſelf with the flattering Fairy Proſpect of endleſs Honours, Titles, and all the glittering Pageantry which an ambitious Imagination is apt to dream of; let him think coolly for an Inſtant, and the true Conſequences of his Conduct will break through ſuch chimerical Diſguiſe, and ſhew in real Colours to his Judgment. Let him caſt an Eye of ſober Inquiry on the Nature of paſt Tranſactions and Attempts, on the Source and on the Purpoſes of them, on the whole Tenor of Conduct and the Character of the leading Perſons; then let him honeſtly declare whether what I have pictured, and much more, is not to be the inevitable Fate of Things among us in Conſequence of their parliamentary Superiority at the approaching Criſis;

whether

whether it is probable or poſſible, that the ſplendid Rewards which ſo many enjoy in Idea, and which ſo many muſt, in the Courſe of ſo great a Work, ſtand equally intitled to, will or can be ever brought into Exiſtence, and enjoy'd in reality; whether ſuch Expectations have not been always the Baits hung out by political Projectors, to deceive the unwary from their real and permanent Intereſts; and whether repeated Experience has not ſhewn that none are truly intended by this Scheme of Emolument, but the Individuals of *the private Circle*, immediately connected by Blood, or the cloſeſt Ties of Intimacy; for theſe, no Accumulation of Honours or Wealth can be too mighty, and for theſe the Pains and Drudgery of others are well and honourably beſtowed.

How tranquil, how delicious are the Enjoyments of an independent Situation! What Joy has Life without it, or what can compenſate for its Loſs? And what is the Source of *private* Independency, but the *public?* A well divided Property, protected by a NATIONAL SENATE; a Repreſentative both intereſted and inclined to promote univerſal Happineſs, free from all

Neceſſity

Neceſſity of taking the Law from any, or perverting their conſtitutional Power to the Diſtreſs of the Public for the Exaltation of a few; vigorous and unbiaſſed in the Diſtribution of Juſtice; ſteady and upright in the framing of new Laws, and reſolute in inforcing the impartial Execution of the old; tender of the Purſes of the People, and wiſe and frugal in the Purpoſes of Application. Under SUCH A PARLIAMENT alone can *Independency*, with all its attendant Sweets, ſubſiſt. Here the Peaſant lives protected from the Oppreſſion of the Peer, and the rapacious Lordling forces a Look of Complacency to the Man of moderate Station whom he cannot devour; every one enjoys the unſpeakable Bleſſings of Eaſe and Security under HIS OWN Vine, and HIS OWN Fig-tree; ſheltered by the Sanction of the Laws, and certain of Reſource and Protection from thoſe whoſe Authority the mightieſt Subject muſt fear and reverence. To live in ſuch a State, with Wiſhes and Paſſions moderated and attempered to the Size of one's Condition, is, in my Opinion, the higheſt Taſte of Happineſs that Humanity can afford to a liberal Mind.

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I CAN hardly think myſelf peculiar in this Opinion; for I am perſuaded the Love of Independency is an Inmate of the human Breaſt, however frequently weakened, and ſometimes totally extinguiſhed. I imagine I ſhould be as zealous for it, were my Fortune much ſmaller; and not more ſo, were it larger: For what is ONE'S OWN, muſt, I think, in every Caſe be equally valuable to the Poſſeſſor, and he muſt be equally ſolicitous to enjoy it, without the marring Conſciouſneſs of holding it *at Will*, and being hourly expoſed to the Depredations of Power. But where the Property is *extenſive*, it neceſſarily begets *Influence*, and, conſequently, *Importance* in the Society; here then the Man of Affluence finds another irreſiſtible Motive to ſecure his Independency, with which his Importance is vitally connected. And what Importance can any pretend to, who lends his Hand to corrupt THE SOURCE of INDEPENDENCY? Who, led by ſome Phantom of his Imagination, voluntarily releaſes that Happineſs of Situation which he might have for ever enjoyed, and

handed down entire to Poſterity. In our preſent Situation a Man of Conſequence in his Country has a moral Certainty, not only of ſeeing the Reſpect, the Flatteries, and the Promiſes ſo abundantly played upon him, vaniſh into Smoke, but alſo of being, on ſome Pretext or other, the firſt Victim to the unbounded Power he contributed to raiſe. This he may rely on as the Conſequence, until the Nature of Man be changed: He will be looked on, not as a Friend that had ſerved, but as a Rival that threatens Danger; as one who might, at any Time, help to undo what he had done, and conſequently muſt be diſabled from Action by every Means which unlimited Authority can afford; without Redreſs, or Remedy, and with the very conſolatory Circumſtance of its being the Reſult of his own Act and Deed. To force Men into unnatural Power, great Inſtruments are neceſſary; but under that Power eſtabliſhed they grow inſtantly obnoxious, and are ſure to fall. Their Conſequence is no longer to be found but as an Addition to the ONE mighty Snow-Ball.

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It cannot be ſaid that this is mere Speculation; Experience and Story confirm it, and it is the natural and neceſſary Event. We may boaſt as we will of the Freedom of our Conſtitution, and rely on it for Protection from ſuch Injuries; but it is all a Farce: We are *free*, it is true; and by what Means are we ſo? Is it not by the Protection of ſuch a Repreſentative as I have above deſcribed, with a Man at their Head, of whoſe truly great Character I ſhall ſay no more, than that he was, in every Inſtance, adapted to ſupport the difficult Taſk: Have we not had repeated miniſterial Schemes, ſome againſt our Privileges, all againſt our Intereſts, induſtriouſly played upon us in that Courſe of Time, and all as reſolutely-baffled? Baffled at the Time that all poſſible Reverence was ſhewn to our Sovereign and his Vice-roys, and a moſt chearful good Underſtanding preſerved with our Brethren of *England*. *Thus* have we been preſerved a FREE PEOPLE; and how are we to continue ſo, but by *the ſame* Means? Can we expect the ſame Effect from a con-

trary Cauſe? From Men who demonſtrate themſelves actuated by a contrary Motive, and purſuing daily Meaſures of a directly-contrary Tendency?

For, what is Freedom? Is it not the Privilege of being bound by no Laws but thoſe we aſſent to? If then a petty Miniſter of State, by means of Power conferred on a devoted V—— R——y, and the Arts and Aſſiduities of a devoted Junto among ourſelves, can terrify, or corrupt, a Majority in our Repreſentative, are we any longer free? Or can we be ſaid to aſſent to Laws dictated by the Paſſions and Wiſhes of Authority? Our Conſtitution is ever variable by the ſame Powers which have framed it; and, ſurely, nothing could be eaſier than by their *Fiat* on this Side of the Water, and a little Fallacy at the other, to procure the Eſtabliſhment of any Law neceſſary to the Schemes of thoſe in Authority. We may then rave and fret, (if it were ſafe to do ſo) complain of our pilfered Freedom, and rail on the Betrayers of their Country; but to what Purpoſe? Every Job will be

be perpetrated, every Iniquity practiſed and authoriſed; the Voice of the Majority forms the Law; the Law will be pleaded in all its Force; and where it is deficient, every Sheriff, and every ſubordinate Officer, knows his Cue, while the injured is left to his Remedy.

WHERE then is the Liberty of our Conſtitution? It ſtill exiſts, thank Heaven, but it is by no means immortal in its Nature. In this Kingdom it is very tender, and requires continued Care and Cheriſhment: Every Breach in its Health becomes irretrievable, and periodical Attacks ſeem incident to its Structure. While we preſerve it, great and ineſtimable are its Bleſſings; but to remit our Vigilance, for an Inſtant, may be fatal. To our Neighbours it muſt be dear, as conſonant to their own Spirit, and eſſential to our bringing them the Benefits we do; but to their Miniſters, ever obnoxious, as ſecuring us from their Schemes of Avarice and Dominion: If then an inteſtine Influence conſpires with their Wiſhes, and ſhould deliver us into their Hands, what muſt be our

Portion?

Portion? And what Protection can we find from that valuable Characteristic of our Constitution, which some People seem to consider and confide in as deathless and indelible?

You do not surely imagine, said I, that our Constitution would be changed by the Success of the new Administration here? I know not, said he, what your Idea of *Constitution* may be; if you mean by it the universal Constitution of the three Kingdoms, I answer, that though a general Revolution may not ensue, nor their Schemes tend directly that Way, (whatever some considerable and active Individuals among them may wish) yet to *us* the Event will be *tantamount*. It is FREEDOM that is the Essence of our Constitution, and if that be destroy'd by our falling under the absolute Dominion of a Minister and his endless String of Subalterns, it will be very small Comfort to us, that our Lords and Masters pay Fealty to the King of *Great-Britain*, or that our Neighbours of that Island remain in Possession of the Blessing we have irretrievably lost; we may retain

tain, it is true, a Parliament, not the *Source*, but the *Symbol*, of Freedom; and we may retain our usual *Forms*, though the *Substance* be stolen away; we may have Courts, for the Sake of Appearance and Regularity, and *Laws* made for their Direction by our REPRESENTATIVE; we may have very *free* Elections in the Country too — of Persons agreeable to the Company they are to sit in, and the Purposes they are to promote: In short, we may have, to outward View, every Shew and Ceremony of a free People, and yet be the veriest of Slaves; the Slaves of Slaves through an hundred Degrees; a Slavery to which *French* Government were an Heaven.

WERE the Lift of the late Advocates for the rejected Preamble composed of none but Men of desperate Fortunes and abandoned Principles, no Hope could be had that any one of them should think of these Matters in their true Light; to *such* alone the intended Work is adapted, nor was ever a Project of the Kind accomplished by any but such. A diabolical and slavish Disposition, inflamed with

mercenary

mercenary Views, and impelled by pinching Neceſſity, may be induced to plunge a Nation into eternal Miſery, make Slaves of the unborn, deſpoil their fair Freedom and Privileges, (the Work of Ages!) and plunge through Iniquity and Infamy to erect a Throne for his Employers, on whoſe Smiles he is to hang, and draw his Suſtenance from their Bounty; but to Men of Fortune in their Country, and unſullied Principles in every Article of Life, what Motive can be propoſed for ſuch a Conduct, or what Hope can be formed of their aſſiſting in ſuch a Plan? As Men of Principle (which from particular Intimacy I can vouch many of them to be) they muſt be invincibly reſtrained by Conſcience; as Men of Fortune, by all the Ties of Intereſt.

For this Reaſon, though the popular Outcry was at firſt univerſal, and every one unavoidably bore his Share, the Wonder of the Public in Relation to ſome particular Gentlemen ſhewed, at the Time, that more Attention to the Nature of theſe Meaſures was expected from their good Senſe, good Principles, and

and the conſiderable Share they muſt bear in any general Calamity. It is really wonderful to ſee how noble and ardent, and yet how tempered and rational, the Spirit of the People has been on this Occaſion; a *Diſtinction* they juſtly and prudently made; yet, though the *Black* became in general a Term of Reproach, on many Opportunities it was demonſtrated, that Generoſity got the better of Reſentment, and a Tenderneſs to ſome Individuals broke out in ſoftening the Motives of their Conduct into mere *Inadvertency*; which I can affirm was the real one with many beſides myſelf. The ſame Spirit that made them thus credulous in their Suppoſitions, makes them now inclined to expect a Change; and they hope to ſee many apparently acting upon Principle, who before were miſguided by Inattention: I make no Doubt but you have heard Surmiſes of Particulars; ſome of them I know, and moſt of the others, I believe, to be well founded; a ſhort Time will decide the Doubt, and we ſhall ſee the Intereſts of the Nation ſupported by a Set of Men, who

will do as much Honour to the Cauſe, as any who have been engaged in it from the Beginning.

This you may rely upon, that the anti-national Junto will never more boaſt of thoſe, whoſe uncontroverted Integrity, and extenſive Property, ſerved as Arguments in their Favour, and a Palliation of the Malignity of their Schemes. All Diſguiſe is become threadbare; Men can no longer be deceived, when their Purpoſes are as glaring as the Sun; nor lulled into an Indifference to their own Intereſts, their Honour, their Country, and their Poſterity, while they have Probity above Temptation, and Fortunes at Stake, for which no Equivalent can be given.

For my own Part, I have done my Country, though unwittingly, a Wrong, and, in Return, I have had my Name brought to Cenſure, for the firſt Time, I thank God, through the Courſe of above Forty Years: I owe it then to my Country to atone for it by all the Aſſiduity of my Days to come: I owe it alſo to myſelf, and to my innocent young

young ones, that are to ſucceed me, to purge my Name from Ignominy, and deliver it to them untainted, as I received it from my Anceſtors: To fly to the Arms of my Country, and ſhare in the immortal Honour of its Preſervation; to live to this, is my greateſt Ambition, my greateſt Vanity. A Man, indeed, who acts thus, not only totally cancels all paſt Reſentment, but bids fair even for a larger Share of Honour and Applauſe, than they who had been more attentive from the Beginning: An ingenuous and reſolute Diſengagement from Error, will be a Circumſtance of the higheſt Illuſtration to ſuch a Character. I own, theſe Reflections have their Weight with me. Well-grounded Applauſe is, in general, the ſweeteſt Muſick to my Ear; but the Conſciouſneſs of ſuch Applauſe, from the grateful Hearts of Thouſands, to lie down on my Pillow with an Infinity of Bleſſings on my Head, and to riſe to meet Gratitude and Affection in every Face I ſee, are Motives ſtrong enough to bear me through any Difficulties and Dan-

gers: But how happy am I to have theſe exquiſite Rewards propoſed on the eaſy Condition of obeying the Call of Conſcience, Intereſt, Humanity, and my Country!

If, ſaid I, you had been a Witneſs to a Scene I ſaw the other Day, you could form ſome adequate Notion of the Diſpoſition of the People towards Sentiments like yours: A very rich, and a very worthy Man was mentioned on good Authority, as having profeſſed the ſame Reſolutions; the Company were People of Senſe and Condition; and the Variety of Expreſſions which Joy, Gratitude, and Eſteem produced in every Feature, and from every Tongue, is above all Deſcription: It gave me, indeed, the livelieſt Idea I ever conceived of the Beauty of that Applauſe which VIRTUE alone can produce, where the Heart appears while it is labouring for Expreſſion.

That, reply'd he, is the only true Applauſe; all other is Flattery, which periſhes with the Sunſhine: It gives but little Joy at the Time, for Want of aſſenting

aſſenting Conſciouſneſs; and is too dearly purchaſed by the certain Cenſure of unbribed Poſterity. But come, we have walk'd too far, and Breakfaſt will wait.

On this we turned, and, after a little Pauſe, he went on. What I have ſaid to you, is an Eaſe to my Mind, which has long been burdened with Reflections on this Subject; Reflections which muſt offer to every Man in my Way that *thinks* at all; and how any one can avoid to *think*, after what has paſſed, ſeems to me downright Abſurdity. Shall we not allow the Actions and Declarations of Men to be an indiſputable Interpretation of their Deſigns? And have we not had them, have not we a daily Repetition of them, without Ambiguity, or Diſguiſe, or Shame? Can any Man ſhut his Eyes on ſuch Evidence; or can any reſiſt its Force, but ſuch as have nothing to hope from, but an entire Subverſion of that happy Equipoiſe of Power which the private Affairs of this Iſland have long been bleſſed with; by which the Indepen-

dence

dence of Individuals flouriſhed, and was preſerved under the Influence of parliamentary Liberty, Property reſted ſecure with all its attendant Comforts, and exorbitant Avarice and Power were precluded from infringing on the ſacred Limits of each Man's private Station.

To Men in Place the late Perſecution may, probably, be alarming, and it was intended to be ſo; to deter ſome from coming over to, and others from perſevering in the Defence of their Country; to deprive them of their Privilege as *Men*, of being *free Agents*, and of diſcharging their Conſciences and their Truſt, as Men of Honour, and Guardians of the public Intereſts. From the Nature of ſuch a Step, it is evident what the Deſigns of the Authors are; the *Means* ever partakes of the Nature of the *Purpoſe*; Purpoſes, for the Good of the Kingdom, have no Occaſion to be promoted by ſuch high and arbitrary Proceedings; the national Intereſts, a Repreſentative like our preſent one, needs no Inducement to conſult; their own Judgment,

Judgment, their Principles, and their Property, muſt be ever ſufficient: To draw down upon them, therefore, the Arm of Power, to compel them to any Meaſures, is as explicit a Declaration as the Nature of Things can afford, that theſe Meaſures are ſuch as the Judgment of ſuch a Repreſentative muſt reject, their Principles abhor, and their Property in the Kingdom effectually reſtrain them from ſubmitting to.

And can there be ſuch an Inſult on a Man of Birth, Underſtanding, and liberal Sentiments, as to offer to threaten him into Meaſures both weak and wicked, into becoming a Pander of Authority for a few aſpiring Perſons, a Slave to dig the Mine, that the valuable Gems may grace the contemptuous Brow of upſtart Greatneſs, by the paltry Menace of depriving him of a Place, the Honour of which is, perhaps, its greateſt Worth? The Honour of a Place ariſes ſolely from ſuppoſed Deſert, and while it is filled by a Conduct ſuitable to that Suppoſition, it is a Circumſtance of which the Owner may be juſtly vain

and

and fond; but when it is preſerved at the Expence of Iniquity, of public and pernicious Iniquity, where is that Honour which beſtowed its Value? Is *Honour* any thing but *fair Fame and Reputation*, and the *Reſpect* which is conſequent thereon? And is it not always great in Proportion to the Extent of that Fame, and the Numbers of thoſe who pay Reſpect? Where then is it to be found when the public Voice changes Fame into Reproach, and Reſpect into Contempt and Ridicule? It is utterly gone, unleſs we ſuppoſe it to conſiſt in an Appendix to a Name in Print, or Converſation; even there, if the Owner has common Senſation, he will ever apprehend a Sneer, and think a Reproach concealed in every Form of Addreſs.

WHERE then, in ſuch a Caſe, is the Road to Honour? It ſtrikes immediately upon the View: To renounce an Appellation, and fly to Glory; to quit a Poſt which no longer can be held with FAME, and ſeek her in her native Seat, the Hearts and Tongues of applauding

plauding Millions. To keep a Place by Iniquity is to be exalted to Shame; to fill it in Rectitude, is truly glorious; but the Height of noble Ambition, ſurely, is to ſpurn at it for univerſal and immortal Praiſe.

I WOULD only inſtance this in one of our late Removals: Was the late Prime Serjeant, or the diſplaced One, in the moſt *honourable* Station? Let any Man, who has mixed among the Public, anſwer me, which of the two Men would he chuſe to have been? Was not the Scripture ſignally fulfilled; the *exalted*, was he not inexpreſſibly *abaſed*, and the *humbled* inexpreſſibly *exalted?* And is not the latter now more glorious, than even when he filled the Place with all that Dignity which muſt ever, in this Generation at leaſt, greatly diſadvantage his Succeſſor? I forbear to mention any Motive of additional Gain, which was ſo remarkably illuſtrated in the Conſequences of the Change between theſe two Men, and muſt be the neceſſary Reſult of popular Eſteem: I confine myſelf, at preſent,

ſent, to the Motive of *Honour*, and leave any rational Perſon to judge, whether it was to be found in the poor Pageantry of a Serjeant's Gown, or the Praiſe, the Gratitude, and Admiration of AN OBLIGED PEOPLE.

FOR my own Part I hold no Place: If I held ſuch a one as I ſpeak of, theſe Conſiderations would determine me; the Conſiderations of Honour: The ſame which would lead me to ſeek it on another Occaſion, would, on this, make me rejoice that I had Spirit to reject it. If it were ever ſo emolumentary, I flatter myſelf I ſhould do the ſame: I do not pretend to more Virtue than my Neighbours, nor to Stoiciſm in any Sort: I could reſolve on it even on a ſelfiſh Principle: Without it I could live comfortably and genteely, and with a Share of Eſteem no other Way to be met with: It could but produce ſome extraordinary Pleaſures of *Appearance*; and no Pleaſures could amount to the conſcious Joy of being the Benefactor and the Favourite of my COUNTRY; no *Appearance*

could

could equal the Dignity and Grandeur of univerſal Reverence, Praiſe, and Affection.

To make you more reconciled to the Sincerity of this Profeſſion, I will avow, I ſhould have the animating Certainty, that, by relinquiſhing the Profits of ſuch a Station for a Time, for a ſhort Time, I was enabled to lend my Aid to that Intereſt whoſe Superiority muſt inſtantly quell every Convulſion, for ever cruſh the deſperate and un-national Meaſures on Foot, and, at the ſame Time that it reſtored the public Quiet, muſt neceſſarily reſtore every Individual to thoſe Honours, to which, under the ſettled Influence of *that Intereſt*, he had been advanced. When unnatural Attempts have ceaſed, and every Miſrepreſentation is obviated, the joint Friends to their SOVEREIGN, and their COUNTRY, muſt, in the invariable Conſequence of Things, meet all the Recompence which their Sovereign can beſtow, or the united Voice of their Country recommend. To ſay the Truth, were I a Placeman, did I join in the

Schemes of Authority, and did theſe Schemes, by ſome Fatality, take Place, what Security could I hope for in the Poſſeſſion? I ſhould be no longer neceſſary as an *Inſtrument*; all my Merit muſt ariſe from my Obſequiouſneſs as a *Dependent*; and if one Man ſhould out-flatter me; another out-do me in Aſſiduity of Attendance, or Alacrity, in plunging through a Job; a third, by ſome lucky Hit, get above me in Influence in the Houſe, or in the Country; or a fourth excel me in an artful Application to the Foibles and Paſſions of our Maſters; down I ſink, from my golden Dream, into Infamy and Obſcurity, while a young Pretender, who had eſcaped my Crime, ſucceeds to my Reward. Nay, the very Caprice and Whim which luxuriant Power inſpires, may take Offence at a Word or a Look; and, by ſtripping me of my dearly-earned Prize, give a Looſe to that Diſguſt, which even the worſt Minds, from ſome remaining Reliſh of Virtue, will be ever apt to conceive againſt the deſpicable

deſpicable Tools of their eſtabliſhed Ambition.

Who then will be influenced by the Promiſe, or the Fear of loſing a Place, which can be valuable but as held with Integrity; and which, forfeited on virtuous Principles, can never be long loſt, while the Public Intereſt holds its Strength, nor enjoy'd in Eaſe, or Security, by the Purchaſer, though his Employer ſhould ſucceed?

To ſet out with a public and ſolemn Menace againſt Gentlemen of Conſequence and Worth, who happen to be in Office under the Crown, and to expect that they will betray their great and important Truſt as Repreſentatives and Guardians of the People from the Terror of ſuch a Declaration, is a Step of ſuch Preſumption, as no delegated Power has ventured, until our Time, ſince the Revolution, to take; a Step, which, in our Parent Kingdom, not even a King could take conſtitutionally or ſafely. What an Opinion muſt be at the Bottom of ſuch a Proceeding, in regard to the Genius of this People?

How

How wretchedly abject muſt our Men of Rank and Truſt appear in the Eye of one that could hope to ſcare them from the Care of their Conſtituents, the Attention to their own Honour and Intereſts, and the Diſcharge of their Conſciences, by a Threat, which, if theſe Men would ſtick fearleſly and vigorouſly together, he could never have it in his Power effectually to fulfil. It is true ſuch Things were lately done, but what was the Conſequence? The Parliament never met again; it was prorogued, though many beneficial, much-wanted, Laws were neceſſarily to periſh, and it was evident that the Odium thereof muſt fall heavily on the Authors; yet even this very bad Conſequence ſeemed deſirable to them, in Compariſon to the Danger of ſuffering the People's Repreſentatives to meet; a Demonſtration that theſe threatened, theſe contemptible, theſe *Iriſh* Repreſentatives, are, and muſt be, while our Conſtitution remains in Health, a Set of Men too powerful for any Junto to cope with; a Set of Men whoſe united

Voice

Voice a Sovereign like ours will ever attend to, and whoſe Wrongs he will redreſs.

It is hence undeniably evident, that had our Parliament been permitted to meet, and our Sovereign, in Conſequence thereof, been undeceived, the Projectors were conſcious that their Scheme muſt inſtantly periſh, their arbitrary Proceedings be abundantly remedied, when the Miſrepreſentation, which was their Source, was diſpelled, and Diſappointment and Diſgrace retort upon themſelves. What then did they gain? A Reſpite for a Year and an half; not only a Reſpite from the Conſequences, but Time, to prevent them; all the Arts and Terrors of Authority were to be played over again, to raiſe a Majority in that Interval, and have been accordingly: The enſuing Winter the Parliament muſt meet, and they muſt abide their Fate: If we conquer, their promiſed Rewards, and their threatened Puniſhments, vaniſh into Air, and their every Act of Oppreſſion and Tyranny will be redreſſed: This ſurely is the moſt joyous Proſpect;

for

for Conqueſt is in our Hands, if we will reſolutely unite them, unſcared by Bugbears, and uninfatuated with airy Expectations. It was a deſperate Scheme to attack a Majority; without a Precedent, and the Reſult of Paſſion, not Policy; the Event will, I warrant it, be anſwerable, every Motive conſpires to ſtrengthen the Oppoſition; and, I doubt not, but the World will ſee, that the *IRISH* SENATE are poſſeſſed of all the Dignity of their Station; not to be terrify'd or cajoled into Servility, but reſolute in their Meaſures, and inflexible in the Defence of that poor Country whoſe ſole Dependence is upon them, and whoſe eternal Fate hangs on this ſingle Criſis; the *unplaced* will exert their Independency, and even *Placemen* will ſhow that they did not accept an Office to be *uſed* as *Slaves*.

If Men would take the Whole of this Matter into Conſideration, and not confine themſelves to a ſingle View, we ſhould not be miſtaken, as we were for a Time, about the Tendency of the late Tranſactions, nor lie open, as ſome

are

are apt to do, to the Suggeſtions of Deſpair. What Room is there for Deſpair? Every GUARDIAN OF HIS COUNTRY holds Succeſs in his Hand, and WE ARE EVER SAFE WHILE OUR PARLIAMENT IS FREE. But the Truth is, we are not enured to Attacks of this Nature, and the Exertion of Power againſt a few Individuals, has terrify'd the Minds of thoſe who fix their Attention on that ſingle Circumſtance; but let ſuch throw their Eye a few Months forward, and there meet a TRIUMPHANT MAJORITY in Behalf of the Nation, then ſay, where are the Horrors of temporary Tyranny, and all the formidable Bluſterings of precipitant Ambition. Let us not be hurried and confuſed in our Search after Peace and Happineſs; we are near the Goal, to that let us ardently and reſolutely fly, and we ſhall find it. Our Enemies have ſtrained their Sinews, this Effort is their laſt, and they become relaxed for ever. We have a Repreſentative that would do Honour to any Age of *Britain*; their national Turn of Mind neither diſpoſes them

to be *unnecessary*, or *fearful*; we have a certain Majority, who have ſtood the fiery Trial, and Numbers of glorious Spirits determined to join with them their illuſtrious Names. The Attack on us is from a private Source, and fatal, or ridiculous, only as we make it; ſhould it ſucceed, we are irretrievably miſerable: If we will reach our Hands to cruſh it, Tranquillity and Security are reſtored. Theſe Truths are obvious to all, and all muſt aſſent and be led by them: Even our Enemies ſee them, and we find Deſpondency and Irreſolution creeping on the Heels of their Exultation.

On the Whole, my Friend, I thank God we have nothing in View but a ſpeedy and happy Change; nothing but a preternatural Infatuation can prevent it; for while we retain our Senſes, we muſt ſee that the Elevation and enriching of a few, is the Drift of the preſent Politics, and this to be done at the Expence of our Peace, our Privileges, and our Welfare; we are to be the Vaſſals of an ambitious Miniſtry,

and

and of their Tools and Aſſociates in this Kingdom; our public Treaſure is to pay their Toll, diſcretionary Taxes to make up the Deficiencies, every private Independency to be ſwallowed in the all-devouring Gulph of Ambition; and to effect the whole, our Parliament is firſt to be depraved into blind Obedience, or terrified from protecting their helpleſs Charge. If they ſtand firm, we are ſafe; I think they muſt; if not, FAREWELL, POOR *IRELAND.*

I HAVE been led much farther than I intended, I am ſo poſſeſſed with the Subject: If I were to indulge myſelf, and we had Time, I could enumerate many other irreſiſtible Motives, which muſt influence every Man of the leaſt Reflection to quit all Attachment to ſo deſtructive a Combination, and fly with never fading Honour to the open Arms of his *inviting* COUNTRY. Our Trade muſt for ever periſh; the very Apprehenſion of the Danger has almoſt ruined it; our Lands and Houſes loſe all Value; our Abſentees grow innumerable, and all the current Caſh of the

Kingdom follows them. — For my own Part, I ſolemnly proteſt I would rather hold my Livelihood at the Pleaſure of the *Grand Monarque*, than live under the Deſolation and Tyranny which ſuch an Event muſt produce; nor would I ſtay to abide it. — Our Treaſury muſt be ever pennyleſs, without any Power that would dare to examine its Abuſes; our Banks ſhut up, and our *ſtaple Commodity* reſtrained, or deſtroyed, as beſt ſuited the Whim of our Governors, their Schemes of Dominion, or the Convenience of our *Scottiſh* Neighbours, whoſe good Friends at the Helm would be ever as aſſiduous to make us properly ſubſervient to them, as they have been to exalt into Power among us thoſe Men who eſpouſe their Principles of Government. Such Conſequences are endleſs, and every Perſon will ſee them moſt ſtrongly, as he is particlarly concerned, for in every Light will they hold infallible. But, I believe, I have ſaid enough to you to make it evident, that every Man who conſults his Intereſt, his Honour, his Poſterity's Fame and

and Happineſs, the Welfare of a whole COUNTRY for ever more, or his own Eaſe of Conſcience and eternal Felicity, muſt think as I do, and act as I will; and that theſe Conſiderations have all their Weight with many and conſiderable Individuals, who have acted as I did, I know to a Certainty.

BY this Time we were near the Houſe, when we met his eldeſt Boy, a ſweet Child of about ſeven Years old, running to call us in to Breakfaſt: My Friend, who is the tendereſt of Fathers, gazed on him with ineffable Fondneſs, and, with a ſwimming Eye, ſaid, No, my Boy, you ſhall never ſay your Father deprived, or curtailed, that Independency to which you were born; or brought thoſe generous Feelings he cultivated, under the Inſolence of Tyranny, and the galling Arrogance of Slaves and Dependents; a Fate, ſtill aggravated by the indelible Reproach of ſharing the Blood of him who joined in the betraying of his Country. — No, my Child, your Happineſs is in my Hand, nor ſhall

Hope

Hope or Fear reſtrain me from ſecuring it.

Our Arrival put an End to this Converſation, which I have related from ſome ſhort Notes I took immediately: If any thing farther, on this Subject, occurs, you ſhall hear it, as, I dare ſay, it will be as pleaſing to you, as it has been to,

Dear SIR,

Your moſt faithful

humble Servant.

FINIS.

ERRATA.

PAGE 8. Line 22. *for* were, *read* was. —P. 9. L. 4. *for* and called the hereditary Revenue (as the King's private Property) uncontroulably at his own Diſpoſal, *read* and called the hereditary Revenue, as the King's private Property, and uncontroulably at his own Diſpoſal. —P. 14. L. 3. *for* that of the *Britiſh*, *read* the *Britiſh*. —P. 19. L. 10. *for* above, *read* before.

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